Sec 32

EQUAL RIGHTS

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

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Judge Harry O. Chamberlin, Indianapolis, Indiana Speaks For Equal Rights Amendment

JUDGE HARRY O. CHAMBERLIN, of Indianapolis, delivered an address on the Equal Rights Amendment, May 23, before the National Association of Women in Indianapolis. Parts of the speech were introduced in the Congressional Record, June 3, at the request of Representative Louis Ludlow, who called the Judge "one of the most outstanding jurists of Indiana and the Midwest."

"As this is a subject of lively and timely importance at the present time," said Mr. Ludlow to Congress, "I have asked and have secured unanimous consent that salient points in Judge Chamberlin's address be reproduced in the Congressional Record." Mr. Ludlow spoke of the truly judicial manner in which the subject was treated, with impartial attention to both sides. "But the further he got into the real merits of the subject," said Mr. Ludlow, "the more he became convinced of the justice of the proposal."

In part Judge Chamberlin said:

Wars inevitably produce inflation of values; inflation brings economic injustices; economic injustice is only another name for depressions and governmental discontent; and these things all sum up to inequality before the law.

Equal Rights for Men and Women

While equal rights for both men and women do not spell a panacea for all governmental ills, it can and will remove one of the irritating disturbances to a very large section of our population. And while a fair and an honest administration of the theory of equal rights for women under the proposed amendment may not eliminate all the economic troubles of womanhood it will at least be conducive to such a degree of contentment as to render more efficient and more effective their already valuable and ever available services and co-operation in productiveness and the output of America's commerce of chattels, as well as America's output of mental development and advancement in educational training. For I say it is the women of this country who do most for the promotion of this educational development of tomorrow's men and women both in the homes and in the schools. . . .

Contributions of Husband and Wife

The man of a family is usually designated as the breadwinner. He is thought to be the central or focal point around which the home is purchased and financed, and some investments are made, a bank account established, a business possibly is purchased and conducted. The wife perhaps is a mere incident to all those acquirements. . . .

In the course of years a substantial substance has been acquired—but usually in the name of the husband. And yet, it was the wife's ingenuity—her savings and sacrifices—her thrift and courageous industry in large measure that made possible the acquirement of the home property, or the piece of rental property or the savings account or the profitable investment in some good stock. Her interest in those tangible accomplishments should be legally recognized through some statutory expression such as the equal rights amendment.

Former Judge Dorothy Kenyon, of the New York Municipal Court, and a very vocal opponent of the equal rights amendment, summarizes in part her opposition in this statement. She says: "We should not have an equal rights amendment, because it would destroy our power to enact special legislation. It seems to me the height of folly to destroy a power for good merely because it is capable of being used, and has in fact been used in the past both badly and unwisely. Why throw out the baby with the bath? That some of our protective laws are bad and should be abolished is my own opinion. Good in their day, some of them have now outlived their usefulness. . . ."

Upon the strict basis of logic and analysis, I think Judge Kenyon has made, in that statement, a fairly good argument for rather than against the amendment. She apparently favors special legislation which in itself spells inequality, and is usually held repugnant to sound legal reasoning.

Special Legislation

The general theory of the law everywhere is against special legislation, and the reports are filled with decisions annulling and voiding legislation because it is special, and gives rights and privileges to certain classes and groups not equally given to all classes of citizens. In fact, both the Constitution of Indiana and the Constitution of the United States either explicitly or impliedly deny to their respective legislative bodies the right to pass special or local laws or laws violative of the theory of equal protection to all.

But Judge Kenyon admits that such good as has come from this special legislation is capable of being used and has been used both badly and unwisely. Surely we won't throw out the baby, but we can separate him from the bath of dirty water. We throw out the latter just as the courts have repudiated much of these special enactments. . . .

Opponents Answered

The opponents of equal rights seem to fear that the passage and ratification of the amendment will destroy our power to ever enact any laws either locally or nationally in aid of the establishment of the equal-rights theory.

In the first place the amendment would be only prohibitive of the creation of inequitable and unjust relationships whether they affect men or women. It could not, in any event, as I see it, prevent rational legislation in aid of the very purpose of the amendment. . . .

Dean Acheson of the United States Department of State, in voicing his opposition to the equal-rights amendment, says that its enactment would cause confusion. Why, of course, it would cause confusion. The rectifying of any wrong always causes confusion, but the confusion is generally at the expense of those who have been the beneficiaries of the wrongs committed. It is because they have been deprived of their ill-gotten advantages and this naturally promotes some confusion in the readjustment of things. But the pertinent inquiry should be, Does the gain for good outweigh the inconvenience of the confusion? . . .

Real Test

The real test should be and is: Is the work produced by women, whether in office, shop, or factory, equivalent in efficiency and in the element of time required, to that turned out by men or vice versa? If so, then there should and must be no discrimination in the emoluments or earnings on account of sex.

Thus it will be seen that notwithstanding the merits advanced by either side of the controversy, there is definitely existing in this country a mixed, complex, involved, inconsistent, and at best a scrambled situation as to the legal status of women.

A noted economic philosopher some years ago inquired, "How is it possible to unscramble eggs?" The same question might be asked as to this problem, but the answer to this is more practical and more possible: By the adoption of the equal-rights amendment!

Equal Rights

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NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

OBJECT

To secure for women complete equality with men under the law and in all human relationships—in particular to secure the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution.

THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress and the several States shall have power within their respective jurisdictions, to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"This amendment shall take effect five years after the date of ratification."

History in Present Congress

House Joint Resolution No. 1 Introduced Jan. 6, 1943, in House of Representatives by Representative Ludlow (Ind.) with forty-two co-sponsors. Reported by Sub-Judiciary Committee to full Judiciary Committee with unanimous favorable recommendation, June 22, 1943. Brought to a vote in Judiciary Committee Oct. 5 and failed by three votes of necessary majority for favorable report. Now before House Judiciary Committee, notice having been given of intention to ask for reconsideration by several members. Discharge Petition initiated Feb. 15, 1944, by Rep. Pat Cannon, to bring Amendment to vote on floor of House.

Senate Joint Resolution No. 25 Introduced January 21, 1943, in Senate by Senator Guy M. Gillette (Iowa) with twenty-three co-sponsors. Reported favorably by the Judiciary Committee to the Senate, May 28, 1943. Now on Senate calendar.

Delaware Democrats Endorse Equal Rights

That the national Democratic Convention will include the Equal Rights Amendment in its platform this year is the conviction of Senator Tunnell of Delaware who was keynoter of the state Democratic convention in Dover May 16th. The Delaware convention voted unanimously to instruct its delegates to the national convention in Chicago to vote for the amendment.

> "The unanimous vote of our state convention is an indication of the national trend," said Senator Tunnell yesterday. "It was most gratifying to me to find my action in Congress in support of the Equal Rights Amendment thus upheld. From many Democratic leaders who have their fingers on the pulse of the nation come reports of increasing popularity of this amendment. The part women have taken in the war effort, their readiness and proven ability to take the place of men in the nation's crisis have brought home to us the justice of the women's request for full equality. The recognition of the difficulties they must face in the post-war world accentuates the need of this constitutional guarantee."

Senator Tunnell was one of the 23 co-sponsors who joined Senator Gillette of Iowa in introducing the Equal Rights Amendment in the Senate, where it has been favorably reported by the Judiciary Committee. He was elected delegate from Sussex County to the national convention. Miss Marie T. Lockwood, Delaware state chairman of the N. W. P., was elected alternate from rural New Castle County.

Endorsement of the Amendment was included in the national Republican platform in 1940, the plank reading "We favor submission by Congress to the States of an amendment to the Constitution providing for equal rights for men and women."

Economy and Democracy

Extracts from the Presidential Address Before the American Economic Association, Washington, D. C., January 21, 1944.

By A. B. WOLFE

. . . We have chosen liberty, security, and democracy as fundamental values in our way of life. . . . There are still some among us who have no use for democracy; some who want liberty, but only for themselves; some who are bent on preserving their own privileged security by denying security to others; some, even in America, who think that race and sex are valid grounds for inequality in civil status and economic opportunity. . . .

CIVIL DEMOCRACY . . . is epitomized in the Bill of Rights, which we did not rediscover until after Pearl Harbor. But the Bill of Rights needs to be extended and interpreted in the light of the principles of economic and ethical democracy. Equality before the law cannot be limited by sex or race. Yet we know that it is. Women are not persons in the light of the United States Constitution. The civil rights they have can be taken away by legislative act. In many respects, in many States, they are still under the common law, in which husband and wife are one person and that person the husband. If women really are persons, these cultural lags should be removed, the sooner the better.

ETHICAL DEMOCRACY is practically synonymous with Christian ethics, the essential contribution Christianity has made to modern civilization. More to the point for the present discussion, ethical democracy is a broad application of the fundamental principle of economy. The essence of ethical democracy, of course, is that respect for the individual—that individualism-of-ends of which I have spoken. No democratically minded person will countenance denial of civil or constitutional rights, even to keep alleged radicals out of government jobs, or deny equal economic opportunity to persons who happen to have been born women, Negroes, Jews or Protestants. This is hard, idealistic doctrine. Merely to state it is to suggest how far from it we are in practice, despite churches, Congressional committees, universities and Atlantic Charters.

Under IDEAL ECONOMY, Mr. Wolfe says . . . "institutional restrictions, some of them decreed by selfish group interest, dictate who shall and who shall not work. Such discriminations, rooted mainly in race and sex prejudice, are incompatible with full-employment economy."

(From program of the joint meeting of the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Society for Public Administration.)

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Pennsylvania Democratic State Committee

The Pennsylvania State Democratic Committee on May 24th passed a Resolution endorsing submission of the Equal Rights Amendment to the States and also requested the national Committee to place a submission plank in the 1944 platform.

The Pennsylvania Federation of Democratic Women endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment at their Convention at Altoona, Pa., the first week in June, and supported the Resolution of the State Democratic Convention. "This means," says Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, "that the whole Democratic Party, in Pennsylvania, is now for a plank in the Democratic Platform to submit the Amendment to the States."

Frederick Douglas on "Equal Rights"

If intelligence is the only true and rational basis of government, it follows that that is the best government which draws its life and power from the largest sources of wisdom, energy and goodness at its command. * * *

Thus far all human governments have been failures, for none have secured, except in a partial degree, the ends for which governments are instituted. * * * While it may not be contended that the introduction of the feminine element in government would entirely cure this tendency to exalt might over right, many reasons can be given to show that women's influence would greatly tend to check and modify this barbarous and destructive tendency.

At any rate, seeing that the male governments of the world have failed it can do no harm to try the experiment of a government by man and woman united. * * *

I have never been able to find one consideration, one argument, or suggestion in favor of man's right to participate in civil government which did not equally apply to the right of woman. *"Life and Times" of Frederick Douglas.*

Rupert Hughes Returns To Equal Rights Amendment

On May 20th, over N. B. C., Rupert Hughes, whose brilliantly convincing statement on the Equal Rights Amendment appeared in our February issue, continued to express his support in a humorous vein. He said:

Meanwhile Congress continues to refuse to call out of committee the Equal Rights Amendment granting women the equality they have earned by inherent human rights and by their magnificent work in every field of the war-effort. . . . Speaking of women, and their amazing emergence into practically equal rights with men to every hard and dangerous task in the war, I have been bowled over by certain very recent items in the so-called society columns—the ones devoted to brides and bridegrooms.

None of the front page banners concerning the war has given me such a start and such a pop-eye of amazement as one smallish headline over a brief item in a New York paper last week.

Take a firm grip on your chair and don't sue N. B. C. if you fall out of it. I actually read in a reputable newspaper this incredible line:

"Marine officer is a bride."

We used to say of a tall story too tall to be believed, "Tell it to the Marines." Of late the Marines have been telling us how tough they are, and proving it. But really now, for a Marine to become a bride!

And of all things, the Marine Officer is named "Georgette!"

Oh, wait a minute! I've just read on and I find that the bride is a member of the Marine Corps Women's Reserves. My apologies to her and my congratulations to the Major in the Marine Air Corps who won her.

On the same page is a picture of a handsome lady who is a Lieutenant Commander in the Waves, and she is marrying a mere Captain in the Army.

The Army has its scandal, too, and furnishes this dumbfounding dispatch from Algiers:

"Colonel weds a Colonel in Army Bridal."

The story goes on:

> "Two lieutenant colonels of the U. S. Army were married today in a colorful ceremony. The bride was Lieutenant Colonel Bernice M. Wilbur, director of nurses in the Mediterranean Theatre, and the bridegroom was Lieutenant Colonel Stewart F. Alexander, chief of Chemical Warfare Medicine."

Here is a picture of a nurse at the battle front laughingly washing her underclothes in her helmet. Here is the story of a shattered soldier having his wounds dressed by a nurse and seeing Japanese bombers coming over. He begs the girl to dive for a foxhole but she goes on calmly with her bandaging while the shells crash.

This sort of thing indicates a revolution far more profound and lasting than any that is likely to come from the mad chaos of this war. In our Revolutionary War tough old Molly Pitcher won immortality by loading a cannon, and there were a few women who passed for a while as soldiers till they were discovered by being wounded.

Today we read without a tremor, "Colonel marries Colonel" and "Marine is a Bride." The armed forces are screaming for more women to come out of the homes and help them fight. The factories are wailing for women to come to the machines.

But the Equal Rights Amendment languishes in committee because we must protect the weaker sex. At that, we may be doing it, for in shackling women we are protecting, and confessing ourselves the weaker sex.

Statement By George Gordon Battle

30 Broad Street, New York 4, N. Y.
March 27, 1944.

Re: EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

DR. HELENA T. RATTERMAN,
126 William H. Taft Road,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

My Dear Dr. Ratterman:

I beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of your letter of March 23rd.

I note the statement of Professor Beard that "Women can now vote, hold office, and claim all the rights and privileges given to anybody by the Constitution." This, in my judgment, is clearly an incorrect statement. It is equivalent to saying that women have equal rights with men in every respect, which is not true and cannot be true unless and until the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution is passed.

Faithfully yours,
(Signed) GEORGE GORDON BATTLE.

United States Senate

May 18, 1944.

MRS. JENNIE SCOTT GRIFFITHS, *Secretary-Treasurer National Woman's Party, California,*
225 Santa Inez, Lomita Park, California.

Dear Mrs. Griffiths:

I am happy to assure you that the equal rights amendment now before Congress has my support and you are at liberty to transmit information concerning my stand to any person that you desire.

It becomes plainer and plainer that our democratic principles require complete equality of every kind including that between men and women, and you may be assured my efforts will be directed to that end.

Sincerely, (Signed) SHERIDAN DOWNEY.

Statement of Scott Nearing

Author and Lecturer

Given in the Garden of Alva Belmont House, May 23, 1944.

I am wholly in favor of the proposed Constitutional Amendment guaranteeing the equal rights of men and women. (Signed) SCOTT NEARING.

Women Fight Equal Rights!

By MRS. WALTER FERGUSON

It seems strange that so many women should be fighting against equal economic rights for their sex. Yet such is the case. Many thousands have ranged themselves against the Equal Rights bill, even while they loudly urge feminine help and leadership in every major enterprise.

In Oklahoma thousands of women school teachers get several hundred dollars less a year than men for the same jobs. They hotly resent the fact. Yet—oh marvelous paradox!—many, too, are members of the American Association of University Women, an organization that opposes the movement that would right this economic wrong.

It seems too inconsistent to be true. For they not only lend their influence to a cause which hampers their earning capacity, but by paying dues into it, spend money to defeat a movement whose purpose is to give them justice. I have yet to hear a reasonable explanation for this.

These school teachers have no "protective legislation" that can be seen by the naked eye. Except for the watchfulness and work of another feminine group, The Business and Professional Women, Oklahoma would have had a law barring wives from teaching school. That's often the kind of thing protective legislation leads to.

If we could be sure the women who now fight the amendment for equal economic rights would work as earnestly in their home states for them at the war's end, we might feel less concerned about their attitudes. But let's not be naive. When peace comes, we're sure to have a bunch of foolish laws designed to bar women from industry. It may then be too late to do anything about it. —*From New York World-Telegram.*

How Women Doctors Got Recognition In Armed Forces

So many requests have come in for information on the exact status of women physicians in the Army and Navy that Dr. Helena R. Ratterman, Past President of the American Medical Women's Association, has written for us the following account. She tells the circumstances which made it necessary to ask Congress for special legislation that would grant women doctors positions and commissions in the armed services. The women dentists of the country have asked for a similar measure to change the laws to apply to them, and a bill was introduced in Congress June 7, 1943, by Representative Sparkman of Alabama.

Dr. Ratterman's account follows:

When the great armed force was recognized as an emergency need of World War No. 2, the call for doctors was most urgent. True to their high tradition, the medical profession gallantly responded.

Both men and women physicians offered their services. Then it was discovered that the authorities in Washington were refusing to accept available and needed medical services because of sex, refusing the women.

The American Medical Women's Association investigated this and found the attitude grew out of the interpretation of the word "persons" as it appears in our Constitution and laws. This interpretation claimed women are not "persons" and therefor laws for "persons" do not apply to them.

Thus the Emergency Act of September, 1941, Public Law 252, authorizing temporary appointments of officers in the Army, such appointments to be made from among qualified "persons," was adjudged to apply only to men.

It was necessary to have introduced a bill, H. R. 824, to amend the Act of September, 1941, by substituting "men and women" wherever the word "persons" appeared in the original act. Congressman Emanual Celler introduced this bill and a hearing on it before the sub-committee of the House Military Affairs Committee was held March 10 and 11, 1943.

Before the date of the hearing another bill, H. R. 1857, which provided for the appointment of female physicians and surgeons in the Medical Corps of the Army and Navy, was introduced by Congressman John Sparkman. This, too, was considered at the hearing.

Fearful of providing a too wide acceptance of the services of women our legislators rejected the Celler Bill and recommended the adoption of the Sparkman Bill. The House passed this bill unanimously April 5th and the Senate did the same April 12th. Within the week the President signed the bill and it became law.

Thus one selected group, the women physicians, was put on an equal status as to rank, pay and benefits, for the duration and six months thereafter. Later special bills were passed to even up things for the W. A. A. C. S. and the W. A. V. E. S. The nurses are still on a relative rank basis with decided limitations in top ranking.

To make our constitutional rights apply to all our population equally another amendment of the Constitution is necessary. The 19th amendment was intended to do this but only specified the "right to vote." The Equal Rights Amendment Bill now up for consideration will correct this. It reads "Equality of Rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

The American Medical Women's Association has endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment repeatedly at each annual meeting. The original resolution adopted by them is as follows:

WHEREAS: in the several states of the United States there has existed, since their inception, many discriminations against women because of sex, and

WHEREAS: in these several states many circumstances arise, which make women the sole support of a family, and

WHEREAS: these discriminations often work hardships on the wage earners as well as the dependents, and

WHEREAS: concerted action is usually brought to the attention of more people, and often is evaluated because of numbers of those in authority,

BE IT RESOLVED: that the members of the American Medical Women's Association pledge themselves to help secure equal rights for men and women throughout the United States

The Effect of Constitutional Equality on Working Women

By REBEKAH GREATHOUSE

Extracts from Address in Washington, D. C., January 23, 1944.

To the proponents of the Equal Rights Amendment the word "protective" applied to legislation is like a red rag to a bull. I do not know what implements for torturing bulls were colored red, but all the rules of law that deprived women of their most fundamental rights have been called "protective". The laws that deprived married women of every shred of property and turned them over as absolute slaves of their husbands were called "protective". And perhaps they were protective, at least in many instances. When women neither read nor wrote and stayed almost their entire lives in one spot, their property was perhaps safer under the control of the men in their families who had a little more education and a little more contact with the outside world, just as the property of children is safer in the hands of guardians. The abuses of guardians are the exception rather than the rule as perhaps the abuses of husbands were the exception rather than the rule. The fundamental wrong was that women were permitted and forced into the class with children. We see that now, and for a hundred years have been slowly changing it. When wives, like children, had to do what the head of the family told them, and had to give their earnings to him, it was a boon to women to have the law step in and say to these husbands, "See here! You can't make your wife work all day in a mine. You can only make her work under such and such conditions." But in a little later period, when women were exploited by their employers rather than by their husbands, the compelling sanction was weak bargaining power rather than law. The law was again called upon to relieve the situation but a suitable remedy was really improvement of bargaining power. If legal regulation is persisted in, women are likely to pass from the condition of slavery to their husbands to that of slaves of the state.

Women and Children

We have made great progress in getting women out of the class of children insofar as their relations to their husbands and property are concerned, but they are still there insofar as many labor laws are concerned, and they are still there in the thinking of many social workers and economists. For one thing, most available statistics are hopelessly mixed as between women and children. Sometimes the statistics pertaining to "women" include females from ten years up, and most of them include females from 16 or 18 years up, so that all deductions from them are unsure and confused. It would be interesting to know how many of the women who are actually in the "exploited" class have been working ever since they were children. If they had been protected before they were 21—given a chance then for education and training, their bargaining power as adults would very likely be greater.

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Elizabeth Hooker Heads Aviation Committee

An aviation committee for Equal Rights is in process of being formed by Miss Elizabeth Hooker, who is carrying on the creed of her distinguished mother, Mrs. Edith Houghton Hooker, of Baltimore, for many years one of the most devoted workers in the woman movement.

Miss Hooker, who was graduated from Smith College in 1939, is engaged in interesting work as test pilot for the Grumman Aircraft Engineering Corporation on Long Island. She is one of three women doing this type of work in the United States. They test torpedo bombers and single-seated fighters for the Navy, and also do instrument flight instruction. She says that many girls in aviation circles are deeply interested in the Equal Rights amendment and in discriminations against women in the labor field.

This aviation field, which is so likely to appear romantic to us, has its problems, too. In spite of her outstanding attainments, the late Amelia Earhart, long a devoted member of the National Woman's Party and staunch champion of equality, recognized the handicaps which must be overcome to place women on a par with men. Shortly before her disappearance, she wrote to the National Woman's Party: "Today women still stand victims of restrictive class legislation and of conflicting interpretation of statutes. To clear the situation their rights must be made theirs by definition—that is—by Constitutional guarantee. I believe woman's changing status will have great effect on future economic processes. In fact, it may be as potent a cause of social change as any single factor—whether women are aware or not."

Florence Bayard Hilles Library

MARY ELIZABETH DOWNEY, *Librarian.*

It is with pleasure that we give our space this month to the reproduction of the following letter:

Women's Service Library At St. Anne's Society Library
56 Woodstock Road Oxford England

Address for correspondence
12 Charlbury Road,
Oxford, England.

March 15, 1944.

To the Editor "EQUAL RIGHTS"
Dear Madam:

"It is with great interest and pleasure that my committee read in EQUAL RIGHTS of the naming of the Florence Bayard Hilles Library on December 12, 1943, and we hasten to send our best wishes and our hopes that it will have a successful and glorious future.

"You will, however, be interested to know that it is not, as suggested, the only strictly feminist library in the world. Women's Service Library, now in Oxford following serious damage by enemy action to its London premises, but formerly situated within a stone's throw of the Houses of Parliament, has been in existence for 18 years. It was started in 1926 by the London and National Society for Women's Service (in its origin the oldest of the English Women's Suffrage Societies) with the double object of preserving the history of the women's movement and of assisting the newly enfranchised women citizens in the exercise of their public duties. It includes a remarkable and very valuable collection of over 800 antique books, dating from 1527, on the social, political, and legal position of women, and of first editions of early women writers. Its collection of books on the position of women in England, and of the periodicals, pamphlets, leaflets and reports issued by the Woman's Suffrage Societies, both constitutional and militant, is unique. Its collection of the history of the Movement in other countries, though not so comprehensive, is also good. It possesses over 1,000 biographies of women. It has inherited many albums of press-cuttings made by early supporters of the enfranchisement of women, and its modern collection of classified cuttings is in constant use for research purposes. Its valuable autograph collection, of which the basis was the correspondence received by the late Dame Millicent Fawcett, for many years President of the Society, includes the letters written by Dr. Elizabeth Garret Anderson, to Miss Emily Davies and others on her struggle to enter the medical profession.

"Women's Service Library acts also as an information center and has been used during its comparatively brief existence by people from 34 different countries. It is a pleasure to record that before the war it was visited and used by large numbers of Americans of both sexes and that it has in the past received, and is still today receiving, much appreciated gifts of books, newspaper clippings and other material from American friends. It is to be hoped that in the future many opportunities of collaboration between our two libraries may occur and it would be a great pleasure to us, if after the war, Women's Service Library could have with the Florence Bayard Hilles Library the same close and friendly relations it enjoyed before the war with the International Archives for the Women's Movement in Amsterdam.

"Yours very truly,

(*Signed*) "VERA DOUIE."

The May issue of EQUAL RIGHTS spoke of the dedication of the Amy C. Ransome Library in Los Angeles, Calif. No finer tribute can be paid to any faithful worker than to have a feminist library named after her.

While every large library has some material on the subject of women, we hope these special libraries may continue to spring up and flourish in every State of the Union and in foreign countries, as no greater impetus can be given the advancement of women than the opportunity to contact such collections on every phase of the woman movement.

As the Equal Rights Amendment progresses there will be more and more need for these libraries and collections, hence their importance cannot be overemphasized.

Wherever possible, university, college and public libraries should be encouraged to enlarge their sections on the woman movement, to make them of more service to those interested.

Mrs. Betsy Graves Reyneau

An event of unusual significance that brought honor to a member of the National Woman's Party, Betsy Graves Reyneau, was the unveiling at the Smithsonian Institution May 2 of the portrait of the distinguished Negro scientist, Dr. George Washington Carver, which had been painted by Mrs. Reyneau.

Vice-President Henry A. Wallace made the presentation and the picture was accepted by Charles G. Abbott, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. The ceremony was attended by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Oscar Chapman, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, and a number of other distinguished persons, including members of the faculty of Howard University.

The painting had been purchased by the Carver Memorial Committee which raised the funds and presented the picture to the art gallery. Mrs. Lauchlin Currie is chairman of the committee. The picture shows the old scientist standing in the bright sunshine in his white working-smock, bending studiously and tenderly over a pink narcissus plant—the attitude in which his admirers most often saw him. This is the first portrait of a Negro in this Gallery, and serves to remind the public that he experimented with the clay of Alabama and from it extracted more than 300 products of commercial value.

Others of Mrs. Reyneau's pictures were on exhibition together with paintings of other Negro subjects by Laura Wheeler Waring, instructor in fine arts at Cheyney State Teachers College, in Pennsylvania, who came down for this event.

Mrs. Reyneau received a number of floral tributes from her admirers. Among them was a huge basket of narcissus and iris from a group of members of the National Woman's Party who live at the Alva Belmont House where the artist is staying. A large delegation from the Woman's Party attended the ceremony. Mrs. Reyneau has for years been a member of the Woman's Party. She picketed with its members in the suffrage campaign and was one of those sent to prison. An informal tea after the ceremony was given at the Alva Belmont House complimenting her and her friend, Mrs. George Hendrie of Detroit, who came down for the event.

Niece of Susan B. Anthony Joins Party

An interesting letter has recently come to headquarters, with a generous contribution, from a new member, Mrs. Maude Anthony Koehler of Los Angeles. Mrs. Koehler writes entertainingly about her relationship to Susan B. Anthony. "She and my father, Daniel Read Anthony, were sister and brother," she writes, "and Aunt Susan came to Leavenworth, Kansas, before my advent into the world to be with my mother—as told in Mrs. Harper's book, Volume I. My mother was twenty years younger than my father—she was beautiful and had unusual musical gifts—all of which endeared her to the somber living Anthonys. My mother came from Martha's Vineyard. So you understand why I saw so much of Aunt Susan and her friends all through the years they came to our home or when we were in Rochester.

"Your 'Equal Rights' was given to me by Mrs. Una R. Winter, of Upland, California. I always read it with great interest. It was my brother, Daniel R. Anthony, Jr., who introduced the 19th Amendment in Congress. The comment of Miss Lutz on the book of my young second cousin, Susan, is excellent. I have never seen Susan. When she was in the University in Rochester, I used to write to her—told her she was getting the wrong ideas—and that her professors had probably found fertile soil to further their aims. Susan answered that though our opinions differed, my letters were stimulating!

"My nephew manages our paper (in Kansas), as did my brother before his death, and my father in the beginning.

"I cannot understand how anyone, man or woman, can oppose the Equal Rights idea—perhaps because I've lived in a different atmosphere."

Mrs. Abby Scott Baker

In the passing of Mrs. Abby Scott Baker the feminist cause and the National Woman's Party lost one of its most brilliant, steadfast and notable friends. Mrs. Baker, known for her beauty, her personal charm and her persuasive eloquence, was one of the outstanding figures in the campaign for woman suffrage. So long as her health permitted she was constantly in the front in the championship of women.

Mrs. Baker was descended from a long line of distinguished Army and Navy officers, with the longest Army record, it is said, of any family in the United States. Her father was Colonel Robert M. Scott and she was related to Commodore Perry. She claimed among her Revolutionary ancestors Nathan Green and Israel Putnam and there had been 17 colonial governers in the family.

As one of the original members of the National Woman's Party, Mrs. Baker began her untiring work for the emancipation of women. She took part in the famous suffrage parade of March 3, 1913. From the earliest days of the National Woman's Party till woman suffrage was won she was a member of the national executive committee and national political chairman.

In Washington she was one of the famous pickets of the White House, was arrested and sentenced to a term in the Government workhouse at Occoquan. In 1916 she toured the country in the "Suffrage Special," which went into the twelve "free states" of the West urging the enfranchised women there to help their unenfranchised sisters of the eastern states. In 1919 she accompanied the "Prison Special" across country as publicity manager and speaker. To her flair for publicity, her charm of manner and her brilliant oratory is given the credit for converting to the suffrage cause such men as Secretary of War Baker and Colonel House.

After woman suffrage was won Mrs. Baker became a member of the Woman's Party Committee on International Relations, and was also a member of the Women's Consultative Committee created by the Council of the League of Nations. She represented the Woman's Party at the international conferences at Geneva during the 1935 Assembly of the League when the question of Equal Rights for Women was before the Assembly.

Mrs. Olive Stott Gabriel

Pioneer Woman Lawyer Dies

Another pioneer suffrage leader, Mrs. Olive Stott Gabriel, passed away at Portland, Oregon, May 6. Mrs. Gabriel was the daughter of Oregon pioneers who crossed the plains in a covered wagon in 1851.

Most of her adult life was spent in New York, where she was three times president of the National Association of Women Lawyers. She was famous for the fact that she never refused to accept a woman's case, even though the client were unable to pay a fee.

Active in the Republican Party in New York, Mrs. Gabriel served as co-leader of the 10th Assembly District in Manhattan. In 1920 she was delegate from the 14th Congressional District to the National Convention in Chicago.

She was an ardent feminist and was president of the New York County Woman's Suffrage Association for many years. In 1918 she became the first woman to manage a political campaign.

The New York *Times* wrote of her: "She headed in 1930 a group of women representing the National Association of Women Lawyers which visited President Hoover, asking him to instruct our delegates to the Hague Conference for unification of international law, to work for Equal Rights for women. She was active for some years in the National Woman's Party, and Equal Rights Organization. She opposed special welfare laws for women on the ground that women should receive no special favors.

Esther S. Smith

The National Woman's Party has lost an active, devoted worker in the death of Esther S. Smith in Buffalo, New York, on April 13. For many years she was treasurer of the Western New York Branch of the National Woman's Party, and as a member of the Party was present at the formation of the Open Door International in Berlin, Germany, in 1929. She consistently worked for equal rights for women in her Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church. She was several times a delegate to its triennial convention. She was treasurer of the Women's Auxiliary of the Diocese of Western New York and a past president; president of the Women's Auxiliary of St. Mary's on the Hill, Buffalo; a member of the Board of Directors of the Buffalo Church Mission of Help and the Buffalo Church Home.

Equal Rights Is A Basic Principle

By CECELIA O'NEAL

Chairman State Committee on Equal Opportunities, California Teachers Association, San Jose, Cal.

"At this moment when the United States is engaged in a war with the avowed purpose of establishing freedom and equality for the whole world, the United States should hasten to set its own house in order by granting freedom and equality to its own women. For the sake of a new and better world, as well as justice to women themselves, ask for the immediate adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment."

ALICE PAUL, *Chairman, N. W. P.*

This is a challenge to the entire nation. Particularly is it a challenge to educators, at least 80 per cent of whom are women. When women teachers do not receive equal pay for equal work, and their legal status is inferior to their male co-workers the undemocratic picture is not one to stimulate national pride in citizenship for pupil exemplification.

When we profess democratic ideals we are placed on trial. If we refuse, or fail to put these ideals into practice, our democracy fails and we fail as citizens according to the Educational Policies Commission.

For several years California teachers have presented to the teachers of our nation information on the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. At the Denver National Education Association Convention, 1942, the Representative Assembly passed a resolution that . . .

> NEA advocates as a logical extension of the principle of democracy, that men and women shall have equal legal status throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction.

At the Indianapolis Convention, July, 1943, the Equal Opportunity Committee recommended to the Assembly that a vote be taken at the Pittsburgh NEA Convention, July 4-7, 1944, in Pittsburgh, Pa., on the endorsement of the Equal Rights Amendment.

* * *

Women contend that their legal status as citizens and persons and the question of their equality with men in the full enjoyment of civil and political rights is now a national issue. They contend that women as citizens and persons should have the same protection of inalienable rights as are enjoyed by men under the United States Constitution.

Legal Status and Work

The question of the legal status of women as distinguished from men should not be subject to the control of the several States. Work conditions for both men and women should be regulated by general laws applied to persons without respect to sex.

Discriminations against women in working conditions and in opportunities based on marital status exist everywhere. We know that such discriminations could not lawfully be established for men because each man's right to work under the same conditions as apply to all other men is protected by the 14th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

We know that this equal protection of the laws does not extend to women because under Supreme Court decisions women are not regarded as citizens and persons within the meaning of the Constitution.

Women are not included in the democratic system—the democratic system guaranteeing inalienable rights to all citizens under a free government.

The California Teachers Association Council of Education has already endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment.

Our Financial Campaign — 100 x $100 = $10,000

For the strenuous work of the summer, we need $10,000. We have been offered a contribution of $100.00 by Mrs. D. Swinney (D. C.) as the one hundredth gift of $100.00 in this series. At the coming commemoration of the Seneca Falls Convention on July 19, we hope to announce the completion of this project or at least considerable progress toward the goal.

Will you, dear reader, please be one of the helpful hundred? And will you persuade a friend to match your gift?

FLORENCE A. ARMSTRONG, *Chairman, Finance Committee.*

RECEIPTS—NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, May 1 to June 13, 1944

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Anonymous (through Miss Gertrude S. Drach)	50.00
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Total contributions and membership fees	$1,049.00

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MISCELLANEOUS RECEIPTS

Subscriptions to Equal Rights	206.05
Rent and Telephone	642.78
Sale of Literature	48.60
Income from Investment and Endowment Fund	756.50
Total Miscellaneous Receipts	$1653.93
GRAND TOTAL	$2730.18

A Feminist Thinks It Over

By ALMA LUTZ

Mother's Day in Retrospect

IT IS very fitting that the mothers of our country now have a special day set apart to honor them. They deserve this and much more. It was a long time before anyone thought of giving them public recognition for their part in building our great country. Both Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in their lecture tours throughout the West in the 1880s called attention to the part pioneer mothers had played in the opening of the West, and in the 1890s Lillie Devereux Blake organized annual Foremother's dinners in New York City to pay tribute to the "founding mothers" who had been overlooked for so many years. Eventually Western States appropriately honored pioneer mothers by giving them the vote long before the country at large recognized their right to voting citizenship. Then came Mother's Day and it often seems as if this Day had been instituted for the benefit of florists and merchants rather than to call serious attention to the debt we owe to the mothers of this country, past and present.

Mother's Day, 1944, was actually observed as War Mother's Day and there were fitting tributes to mothers with sons in the services. In fact, it turned out to be a Mother and Son Day. There was little, if any, appropriate recognition of the new role women are playing in the world, of the mothers in war industry, giving their work as well as their sons, daughters, and husbands to their country. There was little, if any, appropriate recognition of the mothers of courageous nurses at Bataan, Corregidor, and with our men in Italy and the South Pacific, of the mothers whose daughters are serving as WACS overseas, as WAVES, SPARS, MARINES and WASPS, or of the mothers, themselves in these Services. Judging by Press and radio tributes, the accent was wholly on the old-time sentimental note of home and mother and the value of mothers' indirect influence.

All of us can afford to be sentimental about our mother's devotion, unselfishness, affection, and reliability, but we cannot afford to be satisfied with that alone. If mothers are that good, and they are, indirect influence is not enough. Their direct influence must be exercised in politics, in government, in business, on boards of directors of charitable institutions and business corporations, and in world affairs as well as in the home, and this must be pointed out to them again and again until they are cured of their indirect-influence complex.

Sentiment is not enough when equal pay for equal work is still contested and far from generally applied. Sentiment and bouquets of flowers are not enough when mothers do not rate as persons under our Federal Constitution, or under the constitutions of many of our States. The dignity of full citizenship, the full protection of the Constitution, are still denied the mothers of our country.

In every State mothers suffer some legal disability because of their sex. In some States they are regarded as unfit to serve on juries, in others unfit to own their own wages, to make contracts, or engage in business without the permission of the Court. In some States the money they earn in the home by sewing or taking in boarders belongs, under the law, to their husbands. It is incongruous to say the least to shower our mothers with sentimental tributes and yet deny them the basic rights of citizenship. No matter how devoted a son may be to his mother, he cannot respect her dignity or ability as an individual or her influence, as long as he knows that because she is a woman she rates less than a man under the laws of our country.

Before another Mother's Day comes around, let us truly honor the mothers of this nation by writing a women's Bill of Rights into our Constitution, removing from women all common-law disabilities and acknowledging their worth with full citizenship.

Mrs. McNary Is Oregon State Chairman

Mrs. Charles L. McNary, widow of the late Senator from Oregon and minority leader of the Senate, has consented to serve as state chairman for the National Woman's Party in Oregon. Mrs. McNary left June 3 for her farm near Salem, Oregon, where she plans to make her permanent home.

"My husband was one of the most devoted supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment," said Mrs. McNary who has long been a member of the National Council of the Woman's Party. "In fact he considered it one of the most important issues before Congress. I want to devote my life to carrying on his work and the ideals he championed. He felt so strongly that this question was a matter of simple, elemental justice that must be established at once and permanently.

Mrs. McNary carried with her the endorsement of the amendment by most of the Oregon delegation in Congress, "as befits a progressive state like Oregon, where women have always been recognized as co-builders and have been honored for the work they have done side by side on an equal basis with men." Senator Holman was one of the co-sponsors when the amendment was introduced in the Senate and Representatives Homer D. Angell and James W. Mott were among the 43 Representatives who joined Representative Ludlow in introducing it in the House.

Wisconsin Chairman Appointed

A new State Chairman, though an interested worker of long standing, is Mrs. Annette J. Roberts, of Wisconsin, who has consented to take the lead in organizing her state for the Equal Rights campaign.

Mrs. Roberts is well-known in her state for her public activities. For ten years she has been a member of the Board of Trustees of the University of Wisconsin, appointed by former Governor Phillip LaFollette. Her activity in peace promotion has been particularly marked, for she was associated with the late Jane Addams in forming the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and is a member of the national board. She has been a delegate to many international conferences. At Zurich she spoke in favor of the Equal Rights Treaty and in Geneva she spoke frequently for Equal Rights.

Although the National Woman's Party has had no chairman in Wisconsin for some time, there are many active workers there. It will be remembered that during her lifetime, the distinguished authoress, Zona Gale, was a member of the National Council of the Woman's Party. Working with her was Mrs. Max Rotter, State Chairman. Under the leadership of Mabel Raef Putnam, Mrs. Gale, and Mrs. Rotter the campaign for Equal Rights resulted in Wisconsin being the first state to pass an Equal Rights law. That action gave great impetus to the whole country in the work for Equal Rights and that law has since been used as a motto.